

John Hardyng

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Introduction

The English chronicler John Hardyng (b. 1378 – d. c. 1465) had a colourful career before settling down to write his two versions of British history in the 1450s and 1460s. Born in Northumberland, he served in the household of Sir Henry Percy (1364-1403) from the age of twelve, where he learnt the art of warfare and fought in numerous battles, including The Battle of Shrewsbury (1403). Later, he served Sir Robert Umfraville, fighting alongside him in Scotland and in the first years of Henry V's French campaign (1415-16). In 1418 Henry V sent Hardyng into Scotland to survey the topography of the realm and seek out evidence of English overlordship. Promised a substantial gift for his espionage, Hardyng returned after three and a half years, but Henry V's untimely death deprived him of his prize. He remained unrewarded until the 1440s, when Henry VI honoured the late king's promise and granted Hardyng an annuity. By this time Hardyng's patron, Sir Robert, was dead and Hardyng had taken up residence in the Augustinian Priory at Kyme, Lincolnshire. It was here that he began writing his first account of British history in Middle English verse. Surviving in a single manuscript, which was presented to Henry VI and his family in 1457 along with a map of Scotland and several of the Scottish documents recovered for Henry V, Hardyng's *Chronicle* draws primarily on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* and a Latin Prose *Brut*, to give an account of British and English affairs from the mythical founding of Britain by Brutus to 1437. Using the historic issue of English hegemony over Scotland as an ideological touchstone to unite divided Englishmen, the *Chronicle* sought to promote unity amidst the

social, economic and political instability that precipitated The Wars of the Roses. Within a few years of presenting the work and receiving another reward for his service, Hardyng began revising the text for Henry VI's political rival, Richard, duke of York. The second *Chronicle* rewrote history to explain York's superior claim to the throne, but it retained Hardyng's call for unity among Englishmen and continued to use the issue of Scottish Independence as a means of rallying his peers against a common foreign enemy. When the duke of York died in December 1460, Hardyng continued revising his text for York's son, Edward IV, who took the throne from Henry VI in March 1461. Though Hardyng died before completing his revised narrative, numerous copies of the near-complete chronicle circulated in and around London in the 1460s and 70s, helping to explain the Yorkist pedigree. It was the second version of the *Chronicle* that influenced Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* and which was later taken up by the Tudor printer Richard Grafton, who issued two prints in 1543 because of its relevance to the Anglo-Scottish wars in his own time. Grafton's prints ensured the *Chronicle's* popularity among Tudor historiographers and its influence on later writers, such as Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton.

Reference Works and Bibliographies

Entries on Hardyng's life and works appear in several reference works and online bibliographies. Detailed accounts of Hardyng's life and career appear in Kennedy 1989, Dunphy 2010, Summerson 2004 and ***The Literary Encyclopedia***, along with substantial entries on Hardyng's contemporaries and other chroniclers for contextual purposes (see also Peverley 2004 and Simpson and Peverley 2015 under **Textual History**). ***The International Medieval Bibliography*** and ***The Year's Work in English Studies*** are searchable resources that include summaries of articles and books focused on literary and historical analyses of Hardyng's chronicles, as well as extensive coverage of other medieval writers. A subscription is required for each of the digital versions of the reference works, but ***The Year's Work in English Studies*** was also issued in print.

Dunphy, Graeme. General Editor. *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. 2 Vols. Rodopi: Brill, 2010.

An important reference work covering twelve centuries of historical writing across Europe and the Middle East (including Hardyng's work and that of his contemporaries). Originally printed by Brill in 2010, a second online edition edited by Dunphy and Cristian Bratu appeared in 2012 as part of Brill's Medieval Reference Library; digital updates are made annually. The **online edition[<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle>]** is available by subscription.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*. Vol. 8, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, edited by Albert E. Hartung and J. B. Severs. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989.

An important study of Middle English historiography which provides thorough synopses of chronicles and historical works in addition to wide-ranging analyses of each author and the critical reception of their work. Contains a detailed bibliography with information about extant manuscripts and early prints, as well as scholarship published before 1989. Newer bibliographies should be used to supplement the volume.

Summerson, Henry. "Hardyng, John (b. 1377/8, d. in or after 1464), chronicler and forger." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004.

A comprehensive account of Hardyng's life and work, though minor updates are required to take into account recent scholarship (such as Simpson and Peverley 2015 cited under *Textual History*). The entry links to a biography of Hardyng's patrons Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Umfraville for those wishing to explore Hardyng's social milieu. Available *online[<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12296>]* by subscription.

* *The International Medieval Bibliography* [<http://www.brepolis.net>]*

A vast bibliographical database covering multidisciplinary research published internationally. Updated regularly, there are over 30 entries on Hardyng and over 440,000 records on other medieval subjects. Full bibliographical references and summaries accompany each entry, but the database requires a subscription.

* *The Literary Encyclopedia* [<https://www.litencyc.com>]*

Contains entries on literary and cultural topics from all periods. The database, which is accessible by subscription only, has a dedicated volume for medieval writers and their works, with suggestions for further reading. This is a useful starting point for undergraduates wanting broad surveys of authors and their works.

* *The Year's Work in English Studies* [<https://academic.oup.com/ywes>]*

An invaluable bibliographical review of academic work produced on English Literature and Language. Lists and critically evaluates new scholarship annually. Work on Hardyng features on an occasional basis. A subscription is required for online access, but a printed version of the work is also published each year.

Surveys

Galloway 1999 and Given-Wilson 2004 briefly refer to Hardyng in the context of their broader overviews of historiographical writing in medieval England. Kingsford 1912 surveys Hardyng's life, forgeries and the first version of his *Chronicle*, while Kingsford 1913 remains incredibly useful for situating Hardyng's work alongside other fifteenth-century histories. Kennedy 1989 and Gransden 1982 provide the most detailed

overviews of Hardyng's work and remain reliable in their appraisals of its value, while the views offered in Jahner, Steiner and Tyler 2019 represent the most recent evaluations of his chronicles and provide a solid introduction for general and specialist readers. Other resources and surveys of medieval chronicles can be found in *Oxford Bibliographies* *Chronicles of England and the British Isles [obo-9780195396584-0021]*.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*. Vol. 8, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, edited by Albert E. Hartung and J. B. Severs. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989.

Kennedy's thorough and persistently useful survey of historical writing in Middle English offers comprehensive summaries and analyses of each author and their work. The extensive bibliographical information accompanying the Hardyng entry contains details of manuscripts and early prints, in addition to critical studies published prior to 1989. The volume should be supplemented with newer bibliographies.

Kingsford, Charles L. "The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle." *English Historical Review* 27 (1912): 462-82.

An old but useful overview. Outlines Hardyng's life and forgeries and describes the first version of the *Chronicle*, suggesting that Hardyng composed his history to defend the forged Scottish documents that he presented to the crown. Goes on to examine Hardyng's potential sources and the subsequent use of his two chronicles by Stow and Grafton. For the latter, see also Hiatt 2004 and Peverley 2005 under *Hardyng's Influence*.

Kingsford, Charles L. *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

The first detailed survey of fifteenth-century historical writing. It covers an impressive array of major and minor works, as well as offering short editions of lesser-known texts. Kingsford considers Hardyng's two chronicles to be of minor importance and attributes their composition to Hardyng's desire for financial gain. Pioneering in its time, Kingsford's study should be supplemented with, and reconsidered in light of, more recent scholarship.

Galloway, Andy. "Writing History in England." In *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, edited by David Wallace, 255-83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Examines literature produced in England before and after the Norman Conquest up to the early sixteenth century, focusing primarily on the different approaches taken by historiographers. Hardyng receives a brief mention, but the article is most valuable for its succinct overview of work produced by English authors and the context it provides.

Given-Wilson, Christopher. *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England*. London: Hambledon, 2004.

Surveys a number of chronicles written in England from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The study is arranged thematically and considers the ways in which chroniclers approached historical writing. It pays particular attention to their methodologies and how these changed over time. Hardyng receives some mention, especially in relation to his forgeries.

Gransden, Antonia. *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

The second of two volumes covering English historiography from circa 550 to the sixteenth century, Gransden's magisterial work is essential reading. She considers the two versions of Hardyng's *Chronicle* in some detail and situates Hardyng alongside other politically responsive authors of the period.

Jahner, Jennifer, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler. *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500-1500*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

The volume includes 27 articles that are arranged thematically. Several contributors feature Hardyng and his chronicles in their essays, considering his depiction of the past, the responsiveness of his work to late fifteenth-century political affairs, and the early prints of his work. Captures the current state of scholarship on historiography, offering a comprehensive overview of British and Irish works.

Textual History

Scholarship on the textual history of Hardyng's chronicles can be divided into two subcategories – the study of manuscripts and early prints, and the production of editions and extracts – but several publications cover both. The manuscripts of the two chronicles have attracted attention because of their decoration and the light they can shed on later fifteenth-century manuscript culture, while the manuscripts of the second version have been considered in light of the complex ways in which their scribes responded to the many blank lines of rhyme royal verse left by Hardyng. Attention has also been drawn to the unique manuscript of the second chronicle extant in Princeton University MS Garrett 142, which was altered to take into account Henry VI's brief restoration in 1470-71. Richard Grafton's two sixteenth-century prints of the second chronicle have generated debate about the order in which they appeared, their connection to Grafton's imprisonment, and Grafton's motivation for printing. Scholarly editions of Hardyng's work have been hard to come by, though work is currently underway to rectify this. Hardyng's first text is being edited by Simpson and Peverley, and volume one, covering Books 1-3 of the history, is now available in print and online. Hardyng's second chronicle is being edited by Peverley, but is currently only available in Ellis 1812 and Peverley 2004b.

Manuscripts and Early Prints

The first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* survives in a single manuscript, which is discussed at length in Peverley 2004b and Simpson and Peverley 2015. The second version of the *Chronicle* is extant in twelve complete, or near-complete, manuscripts and several fragments, which are analysed in Edwards 1987, Peverley 2004a, and Peverley 2004b. This version also appeared in two early sixteenth-century prints, Grafton 1543a and Grafton 1543b. Hanham 1979 discusses the order in which the prints by Richard Grafton were published, while Edwards 2019 considers them in relation to other chronicles published before 1543 and examines Grafton's use of Hardyng. Other studies of Grafton's prints include Hiatt 2004 and Peverley 2005 cited under *Hardyng's Influence*.

Edwards, A. S. G. "History in Print from Caxton to 1543." In *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500-1500*, edited by Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler, 370-85. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Considers the earliest chronicles to be printed in England and includes a section on Grafton's use of Hardyng. Argues that Grafton's 1543 prints mark a watershed in historical writing in print, and that after this date histories begin to stress "that the distant past, of universal and national history [...] has become irrelevant". Emphasis is instead placed on being "grateful for the present."

Edwards, A. S. G. "The Manuscripts and Texts of the Second Version of John Hardyng's Chronicle." In *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by Daniel Williams, 75-84. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1987.

Examines the extant manuscripts of Hardyng's second *Chronicle*, dividing them up into three categories: deluxe parchment copies, containing illumination; less elaborate paper copies; and manuscripts with unusual production circumstances. Concludes that the preponderance of blank lines in the surviving manuscripts indicates that the *Chronicle* was never finished and that enterprising scribes completed some of the lacunae.

Hanham, Alison. "The Two Editions of Grafton's Chronicle of John Hardyng [1543]." *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 4, no 1 (1979): 17-23.

Reasons that the order in which Grafton issued the two prints of Hardyng's *Chronicle* has been mistaken. Presents evidence that Grafton issued a corrected version of the first print after inadvertently ascribing royal birth to Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, in the text. This may have resulted in Grafton's imprisonment and prompted the publication of the second, revised print.

Hardyng, John. *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*. London: Richard Grafton, 1543. [STC 12766.7]

The first of two prints issued from the press of Richard Grafton in 1543. This edition of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* is followed by a lengthy prose continuation bringing the history down

to the reign of Henry VIII. Available

online[<https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248593557/fulltextPDF/>] by subscription.

Hardyng, John. *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*. London: Richard Grafton, 1543. [STC 12767]

The second of Grafton's two editions of Hardyng's Chronicle with a continuation to the reign of Henry VIII. This print has a much shorter account of Henry VIII's reign. Available

online[<https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240873167/fulltextPDF/>] by subscription.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Adapting to Readeption in 1470-1471: The Scribe as Editor in a Unique Copy of John Hardyng's Chronicle of England (Garrett MS. 142)." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 66, no.1 (2004): 140-72. [2004a]

Argues that the copy of Hardyng's *Chronicle* extant in Princeton University MS Garrett 142 was produced during the brief readeption, or restoration, of Henry VI in 1470 to 1471. The scribe of this unique copy systematically edited Hardyng's original text, removing material justifying the Yorkist claim to the throne. These edits, along with politically orientated annotations from a late fifteenth-century reader, reshaped the text for an owner with Lancastrian loyalties.

Peverley, Sarah L., "John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464." [<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:5494>]* PhD diss., University of Hull, 2004. [2004b]

Provides comprehensive descriptions of the manuscripts and fragments of Hardyng's two chronicles, along with detailed analysis of the relationships between the manuscripts and early prints.

Simpson, James and Peverley, Sarah L. **John Hardyng, Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*. [<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-pevereley-hardyng-chronicle>]* Volume 1. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015.

Includes an extensive description of British Library MS Lansdowne 204, the sole surviving manuscript of the first chronicle. Discusses the construction, layout, hands, illumination and provenance of the manuscript, and concludes that it was produced in the East of England under Hardyng's supervision.

Editions and Extracts

The first version of Hardyng's chronicle remained relatively unknown until extracts from it were printed in Kingsford 1912. A substantial part of the first chronicle appears in Peverley 2004b, but Simpson and Peverley 2015 is the first and only published edition of the text. The second, shorter version of Hardyng's chronicle was printed in the sixteenth century in Grafton 1543a and Grafton 1543b (discussed in

Manuscripts and Early Prints). These prints were later used as the basis of Ellis 1812, along with

several of the variant manuscript readings known to Ellis. The second chronicle has not been edited in its entirety since the nineteenth century, but Peverley 2004b provides a critical edition with variants from all extant manuscripts for the years 1327 to 1464. Given-Wilson 1993 and Curry 2009 provide short extracts from Hardyng's second text in their studies of the chronicle accounts of Richard II's deposition and Henry V's Agincourt campaign.

Curry, Anne. *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2009.

A survey of fifteenth-century sources for the Battle of Agincourt (1415). Short extracts from both versions of Hardyng's chronicle (covering the battle) are provided in modern translation together with a comparative overview of his accounts of the campaign.

Ellis, Henry. Ed. *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*. London: F. C and J. Rivington, 1812.

The only complete edition of Hardyng's second chronicle. Though useful in its time, the edition does not provide variant readings for all extant manuscripts and lacks scholarly commentary. To be used with caution and supplemented with Peverley 2004b.

Given-Wilson, Christopher. *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993.

A survey of chronicle accounts of the events leading up to and including Richard II's deposition. Includes translated extracts from the English and Latin passages in Hardyng's second *Chronicle* describing the return of Henry Bolingbroke in 1399 and the Percy Family's role in his usurpation of the throne. The extract corresponds to chapters 195 and 196 of Ellis 1812.

Kingsford, Charles L. "Extracts from the First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle." *English Historical Review* 27 (1912): 740-53.

Provides three key passages from British Library MS Lansdowne 204, including Hardyng's dedication and prologue to Henry VI and his epilogue praising Sir Robert Umfraville.

Simpson, James and Peverley, Sarah L. **John Hardyng, Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*. [<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-pevereley-hardyng-chronicle>]*

Volume 1. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015.

The first and only critical edition of Hardyng's first chronicle. Provides an introduction to Hardyng's life and work, a comprehensive description of British Library MS Lansdowne 204, and the first three books of the *Chronicle* (up to the end of King Arthur's reign). Full critical commentary, textual notes, index, glossary, and illustrations accompany the text. First published as a paperback in 2015, the volume is available online (minus the illustrations).

Peverley, Sarah L., **John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464.*" [<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:5494>]* PhD diss., University of Hull, 2004. [2004b]

Scholarly edition of substantial extracts from Hardyng's two chronicles with accompanying textual notes, variant readings from all extant manuscripts, commentary and glossary. Covers the prologues of both texts, the reigns of Edward III to Edward IV, and epilogues. Provides extensive discussion of the extant *Chronicle* manuscripts and their relationships.

Hardyng's Sources

Scholarship on Hardyng's sources has largely focused on his use of English poetry or on the more unusual authorities that he cites. Hardyng's use of Chaucer's works is identified by Maxwell and Gray 1969, Edwards 1984, Edwards 1988, and Peverley 2011. The works of other English poets, John Gower, John Lydgate and John Walton, are discussed by Moll 2004, Peterson 1980 and Peverley 2011. Hardyng's more obscure references to "Hugh de Gensis" and "Mewyn" are tackled by Moll 2000 and Ruch 2006. The most comprehensive study of Hardyng's sources to date is Simpson and Peverley 2015, who provide a comparative study of the materials informing the first chronicle in the Explanatory Notes accompanying their edition: materials range from chronicles, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*, to saints' lives and Arthurian romance, such as the thirteenth-century prose romances of the Vulgate Cycle. For more on Mannyng see *Oxford Bibliographies* *Robert Mannyng of Brunne [obo-9780195396584-0242]*.

Edwards, A. S. G. "Hardyng's *Chronicle* and *Troilus and Criseyde*." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 31, no. 2 (1984): 156.

A short note recording a borrowing from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (III.617) in the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. Followed up several years later in Edwards 1988.

Edwards, A. S. G. "*Troilus and Criseyde* and the First Version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 35, no 1 (1988): 12-13.

Expands on Edwards 1984 by noting further instances of Hardyng's use of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Argues that the borrowings are deployed at moments of "exclamatio".

Maxwell, J. C. and Douglas Gray. "An Echo of Chaucer." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 16, no. 5 (1969): 170.

Notes a potential borrowing from Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* in the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*.

Moll, Richard J. "Another Reference to John Hardyng's "Mewyn." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 47, no. 3 (2000): 296-98.

Explores the identity of "Mewyn", one of the authorities cited in the Arthurian and pre-Arthurian sections of Hardyng's chronicles. Concludes that Mewyn "is not the produce of Hardyng's imagination", but a misreading of Inis-witrin (Glastonbury) and its associated prophet Melkin.

Moll, Richard J. "Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* and the Latin Glosses to Hardyng's *Chronicle*." *Journal of the Early Book Society* 7 (2004): 153-158.

Considers three Latin marginalia drawn from Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* in the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, looking at how they are adapted to illustrate the history of Richard II. Moll argues that Hardyng's use of the text indicates that it circulated independently after Gower's death.

Peterson, Clifford. "John Harding and Geoffrey of Monmouth: Two Unrecorded Poems and a Manuscript." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 27, no. 3 (1980): 202-04.

Discusses a three-stanza poem on Scotland present in three manuscripts of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. Concludes that it derives from an envoy attributed to one "Greneacres" found at the end of a manuscript of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and the Kingis Quhair manuscript of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Chronicling the Fortunes of Kings: John Hardyng's use of Walton's *Boethius*, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, and Lydgate's 'King Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London'." *The Medieval Chronicle* VII (2011): 167-203.

Argues that Hardyng reworked snippets of poetry by his English contemporaries, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Walton, to underscore moments of great tragedy or triumph in his history of Britain.

Ruch, Lisa M. "A possible identity for Hugh of Genesis in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*." *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 53, no. 2 (2006): 150-151.

Traces one of Hardyng's named sources, 'Hugh of Genesis', back to Gaius Julius Hyginus and his *Fabulae*.

Simpson, James and Peverley, Sarah L. **John Hardyng, Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*. [<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-pevereley-hardyng-chronicle>]* Volume 1. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015.

Contains an Introduction and Explanatory Notes which address Hardyng's main sources and analogues for Books 1 to 3 of the first *Chronicle*. The edition is the first to note Hardyng's heavy reliance on Robert of Mannyng's *Chronicle*. Several notes also include discussion of sources in Book

4 to 7, which are to be covered in the second volume of the edition. Published as a paperback in 2015, the volume is available online.

Hardyng and Scotland

The significance of Anglo-Scottish affairs to Hardyng's work has long been acknowledged. Palgrave 1837 and Hiatt 2004 remain the best resources for the study of the counterfeit Scottish documents that Hardyng submitted to the English crown between 1440 and 1457. Palgrave's work is likewise notable for its broader influence on perceptions of Hardyng as a chronicler; his suggestion that Hardyng forged many of the documents himself prompted later critics to condemn Hardyng as an unreliable source. Hiatt 2004 goes some way towards rehabilitating Hardyng's reputation by situating his forgeries in the wider context of late medieval attitudes to forgery. Hardyng's maps of Scotland have likewise attracted a fair amount of attention, with Hiatt 2002, Finke and Shichtman 2004, Peverley 2012, Klein 2016, and Marchant 2019 arguing that they capture various aspects of Hardyng's narrative and ideologies in pictorial form. Kennedy 1989 and MacDonald 2005 use the backdrop of England's relationship with Scotland to examine Hardyng's Grail Quest and the presentation of Northumbrian identity respectively, while Peverley 2012 and Peverley 2014 consider Hardyng's use of Anglo-Scottish affairs to articulate concerns about civil war in England.

Finke, Laurie A. and Martin B Shichtman. "Mapping Ambition: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Logic of Seriality in the Chronicle of John Hardyng." In *King Arthur and the Myth of History*, edited by Laurie A. Finke and Martin B Shichtman, 133-58. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Argues that Hardyng shapes the reign of King Arthur to support a case for English suzerainty in Scotland. Also reads the map of Scotland at the end of the chronicle as a device that allows Hardyng's audience to "move sequentially from marker to marker" to better understand the relationship between land and text in the history.

Hiatt, Alfred. "Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*." In *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by Jenny Stratford, 78-94. Harlaxton Medieval Studies 13. Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2002.

Discusses the maps present in both versions of the *Chronicle* and concludes that the primary sources informing them were previous itineraries used by English kings invading Scotland and Hardyng's own personal observations of the realm.

Hiatt, Alfred. *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-century England*. London: The British Library; Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Features a chapter on the forged documents that Hardyng produced and presented to Henry V, Henry VI and Edward IV as part of a larger study of medieval forgeries. Hiatt argues that the forgeries

contribute to a pre-existing narrative about English hegemony over Scotland, which circulated in the broader textual community of late medieval England and which was captured in Hardyng's account of British and English history.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "John Hardyng and the Holy Grail." *Arthurian Literature VIII* (1989): 185-206.

Reasons that Hardyng included accounts of Joseph of Arimathea's arrival in Britain and the quest for the Holy Grail to counter Scottish texts that presented Arthur's reign as illegitimate and provide England with an early apostolic history. Situates Hardyng's *Chronicle* within the wider framework of Anglo-Scottish affairs. The article also appears in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, edited by James P. Carley, 249-68. *Arthurian Studies* 45. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.

Klein, Andrew. W. "Cartographic Imaginings: Mapping Anglo-Scottish Existence in the Late Middle Ages." *Studies in Iconography* 37 (2016): 31-74.

Considers the representation of Scotland on medieval maps, including those by Matthew Paris and the Gough Map. Concludes that Hardyng's maps were intended to contribute to knowledge of the "lost province of English inheritance."

MacDonald, Alastair J. "John Hardyng, Northumbrian identity and the Scots." In *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages*, edited by Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell, 29-42 *Regions and Regionalism in History* 3. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Examines Hardyng's depiction of Scotland and the tensions between local and national identity in his chronicles. MacDonald maintains that such tensions are not resolved by Hardyng, despite his "strident insistence on northern loyalty" to the crown.

Marchant, Alicia. "John Hardyng's Scotland: Emotional Geographies and Forged Heritage in the Fifteenth Century." In *Historicising Heritage and Emotions: The Affective Histories of Blood, Stone and Land*, edited by Alicia Marchant, 51-66. *Routledge Studies in Heritage*. Routledge, 2019.

Follows Kingsford 1912, Hiatt 2004, Peverley 2012 and Klein 2016 in reading Hardyng's maps, his invasion plan, and his forgeries, as materials designed to persuade the English king to recover his lost heritage. Concludes that the "maps are emotional and emotive projections that constructed a selective view of the past" and that through Shakespeare's use of the *Chronicle* Hardyng and his texts have themselves become "part of a national heritage".

Palgrave, Francis. *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland and the Transactions between the Crowns of Scotland and England Preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer*. Volume 1. London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1837.

Outlines the nature of the forged documents relating to English overlordship of Scotland, which Hardyng submitted to Henry VI in 1440 and 1457 and provides transcriptions of two of the items. Concludes that Hardyng was responsible for some of the forgeries. This was the first and only study of Hardyng's forgeries until Hiatt 2004 and it was hugely influential in shaping negative perceptions of Hardyng and his motivations for writing.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Anglo-Scottish Relations in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*." In *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300-1600*, edited by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell, 69-86. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Argues that Hardyng uses England's conflict with Scotland to articulate concerns about the wider socio-political affairs troubling fifteenth-century England. Explores the visual dynamics of, and differences between, the maps in the two versions of the *Chronicle* and how they contribute to Hardyng's narrative.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Henry V's Spy and Scottish Independence."

[<https://sarahpeverley.com/2014/04/14/on-his-majestys-secret-service-henry-vs-spy-and-scottish-independence-2/>]* BBC Arts, 2014.

A short documentary about the espionage Hardyng claimed to have undertaken in Scotland for Henry V and how it later shaped his writing of the *Chronicle*, which incorporated the materials and information recovered into his account of the British and English past.

Hardyng and the Wars of the Roses

The impact of The Wars of the Roses on Hardyng's career and his decision to write histories for opposing dynasties has been of continued interest to late twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars. Gransden 1982 and Peverley 2019 situate Hardyng's two chronicles alongside the work of other writers attempting to navigate the changes and uncertainty brought about by the conflict, to show that Hardyng was not alone in adapting to external influences and rewriting his history for rival monarchs. Simpson and Peverley 2015 offers a rare insight into how Henry VI was depicted before the wars necessitated a pro-Yorkist account of history, while Peverley 2008a looks at the revisions Hardyng made to his second chronicle to promote the House of York's legitimacy in the early years of Edward IV's accession. In a similar vein, the production circumstances of the second version are considered in Riddy 1993, which makes a case for third party intervention in Hardyng's decision to rewrite the text. Radulescu 2003, Peverley 2004 and Turner-Camp 2019 turn to Hardyng's portrayal of past monarchs for insights into his political strategy, with specific emphasis on Hardyng's portrayal of good kingship and counsel. Peverley 2008b on the other hand tracks the influence of political discourse on late fifteenth-century literature, while the interplay of divided loyalties, particularly between the north and south of England, is considered in MacDonald 2005.

Gransden, Antonia. *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

Places Hardyng's two chronicles in context and offers a thorough examination of the similarities and differences between them. Highlights themes common to both texts as well as Hardyng's concern with disorder. Useful for comparing Hardyng's work with that of other authors responding to the fluid political climate of late fifteenth-century England.

MacDonald, Alastair J. "John Hardyng, Northumbrian identity and the Scots." In *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages*, edited by Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell, 29-42. Regions and Regionalism in History 3. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Argues that Hardyng's chronicles display tension at play in the depiction of local and national identity in England. The north is said to be loyal to the English crown, but dynastic bias inherent in Hardyng's histories reflects unresolved problems particular to the period of civil war in which they were written. Concludes that "local particularism in the north east was growing at the expense of national loyalty".

Peverley, Sarah L. "Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*." In *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12 – 17 July 2002*, edited by Erik Kooper, 149-70. Rodopi: Amsterdam, 2004.

Examines Hardyng's presentation of sovereignty and division within Britain and England, arguing that that both chronicles have a broader political focus and concern with late medieval affairs than previous scholarship has allowed. Presents evidence that Hardyng was not as financially destitute as he claims in his first *Chronicle* and that his motivation for writing was not necessarily grounded in financial gain, but a more altruistic concern for good governance and stability.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Genealogy and John Hardyng's Verse *Chronicle*." In *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*, edited by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy, 259-82. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 16. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. [2008a]

Examines how Hardyng utilized genealogy and authorial self-fashioning to promote the Yorkist claim to the English throne in the second version of his *Chronicle*. Argues for an increased emphasis on the importance of female ancestry in the revised text to support Yorkist claims to the thrones of England, France, Spain and Jerusalem.

Peverley, Sarah L. "Political Consciousness and the Literary Mind in Late Medieval England: Men "Brought up of Nought" in Vale, Hardyng, *Mankind*, and Malory." *Studies in Philology* 105 (2008): 1-29. [2008b]

Explores the use of the “men of nought” idiom in political discourse related to Richard, duke of York’s claim to the throne and the impact it had on late fifteenth-century writers, who deployed the phrase (denoting “men raised out of insignificance or poverty”) to articulate concerns about the location of authority during The Wars of the Roses.

Peverley, Sarah L. “Polemical History and The Wars of the Roses”. *In The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500-1500*, edited by Emily Steiner, Jennifer Jahner, and Elizabeth Tyler, 467-82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Charts the impact of dynastic conflict and sustained political instability on late fifteenth-century historiography, covering lesser known and more influential works, including Hardyng’s chronicles. Argues that the wars not only exacerbated writers’ reliance on genealogies, newsletters and official documents, but that they required authors to rewrite histories for rival bloodlines and precipitated the first governmentally sanctioned histories.

Radulescu, Raluca L. *The Gentry Context for Malory’s Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003.

Explores gentry responses to politics, kingship and war through the books, letters and other discourse that members of the gentry owned, issued, and were exposed to. Centres on the ways in which gentry beliefs and ways of thinking about power were expressed in Malory’s *Morte Darthur* and other works written before and during the civil war, such as Hardyng’s *Chronicle*.

Riddy, Felicity. “John Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and the Wars of the Roses.” *Arthurian Literature XII* (1993): 91-108.

Positions Hardyng’s work within the wider context of late fifteenth-century political affairs, considering what (and who) might have prompted Hardyng to produce his second *Chronicle*. Concludes that “Sir Thomas Burgh, or someone very like him, instigated or at least encouraged” the revision and “put it into circulation after Hardyng death.”

Simpson, James and Peverley, Sarah L. **John Hardyng, Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*. [<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-pevereley-hardyng-chronicle>]* Volume 1. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015.

An edition of the first version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*, written for Henry VI on the cusp of The Wars of the Roses. The *Chronicle* offers rare insights into how Henry VI was depicted by his contemporaries before Yorkist propaganda began to reshape perceptions of his rule. The Introduction offers contextual information about the *Chronicle*’s composition circumstances and Hardyng’s later attempt to write for York and Edward IV. The edition was published in paperback in 2015, but it is also online.

Turner-Camp, Cynthia. "Anglo-Saxon Futures: Writing England's Ethical Past, Before and After 1066." In *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500-1500*, edited by Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler, 101-16. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Includes Hardyng in a study of how medieval writers used the Anglo-Saxon past to "activate different possible futures." Concludes that Hardyng models exemplary behaviour through the Anglo-Saxon kings to encourage the House of York to exercise responsible governance.

Hardyng and the Arthurian Tradition

King Arthur's reign is a topic of great interest to scholars and Hardyng's accounts of the legendary monarch are no exception. As the first English chronicler to borrow directly from the French prose romances known collectively as the Vulgate Cycle, and as the first chronicler to include a Grail Quest, Hardyng has a unique place in the Arthurian tradition and research has tended to focus on the idiosyncrasies of his texts and on their influence on Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

Hardyng's Arthurian Narrative

Hardyng's account of King Arthur's reign has attracted attention from scholars interested in a range of topics, from the characterisation of individual figures, such as Lancelot (Archibald 2004 and Cooper 2006) to smaller, unique details, such as Hardyng's alignment of the Arthurian landscape with real geography (Biddle 2000, Moll 2005, and Finke and Schichtman 2004). Bigger studies, such as Harker 1996, have compared the two versions of his narrative, or placed it in context by considering it alongside other English versions of Arthur's reign (Fletcher 1906, Moll 2003, Kennedy 2005, and Kennedy 2015). The most popular areas of study related to Hardyng's Arthurian narrative – Galahad's grail quest and Hardyng's influence on Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* – are covered in separate sections of this bibliography (see *Hardyng and Malory* and *Hardyng and the Holy Grail*).

Archibald, Elizabeth. "Lancelot as Lover in the English Tradition Before Malory." In *Arthurian Studies in Honour of P. J. C. Field*, edited by Bonnie Wheeler, 199-216. *Arthurian Studies* 57. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.

Explores what was known about Lancelot and Guinevere's affair in England before the production of the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* and Malory's *Morte Darthur*, both of which assume knowledge of the characters' tragic love.

Biddle, Martin. "The Hanging of the Round Table." In *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation*, edited by Martin Biddle, 393-424. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2000.

Uses Hardyng's account of The Round Table hanging at Winchester to illuminate the history of the real Round Table at Winchester. Biddle concludes that the table was hung during the reign of Edward

III and that it was widely viewed as a relic from the Arthurian period when Hardyng began writing the second version of his *Chronicle* in the 1460s.

Cooper, Helen. "Lancelot's Wives." *Arthuriana* 16, no. 2 (2006): 59-62.

Discusses three texts that present Lancelot as a married man: Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and Christopher Middleton's *Chinon of England*. Suggests that Chrétien de Troyes may have invented Lancelot's adultery.

Finke, Laurie A. and Martin B Shichtman. "Mapping Ambition: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Logic of Seriality in the Chronicle of John Hardyng." In *King Arthur and the Myth of History*, edited by Laurie A. Finke and Martin B Shichtman, 133-58. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Considers the connections between Arthur, the land, and British history, arguing that the king's reign is crafted to support English overlordship of Scotland.

Fletcher, Robert Huntington. *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, Especially Those of Great Britain and France* (Boston MA: Harvard University, 1906)

Provides a short account of Hardyng's Arthurian material. The study is useful more generally as an introduction to the various ways in which chroniclers approached the Arthurian legend.

Harker, Christine Marie. "John Hardyng's Arthur: A Critical Edition". PhD diss., University of California, 1996.

A study and edition of Hardyng's two Arthurian narratives. Includes information about the Hardyng manuscripts, as well as brief notes on relevant sources, analogues, and a linguistic profile of British Library MS Lansdowne 204. The notes should be supplemented by Simpson and Peverley 2015, which corrects minor errors. Accessible via a subscription to ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "The Prose *Brut*, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure: The End of the Story*." In *Romance and History: Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period*, edited by Jon Whitman, 105-19. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Discusses the contrasting conclusions of King Arthur's reign in Hardyng's *Chronicle*, the Middle English Prose *Brut* and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Pays particular attention to the importance of "causality, Fortune, and Destiny", in Arthur's fatal wounding and fabled return. Concludes that Hardyng's narrative presents Fortune as capricious and that his version of the story is "an exemplum warning against treacherous subjects."

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "Visions of History: Robert de Boron and English Arthurian Chroniclers." In *The Fortunes of Arthur*, edited by Norris J. Lacy, 29-46. Cambridge D. S. Brewer, 2005.

Looks at the ways in which Christian details were woven into more secular accounts of Arthur's reign and how little they impacted on later chronicles, such as Hardyng's.

Moll, Richard J. *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Considers Arthurian Narratives written in England before Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*, with a particular emphasis on how readers understood Arthur's reign. Includes chapters on chronicles and romance, such as Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, Higden's *Polychronicon*, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, The Prose *Brut*, *The Alliterative Morte Arthure*, *The Awyntyrs off Arthure*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Useful as a comprehensive study of the brilliance of pre-Malorian narratives.

Moll, Richard J. "Ebrauke and the Politics of Arthurian Geography." *Arthuriana* 15, no. 4 (2005): 65-71.

Explores the three locations given for Lancelot's Castle Dolorous Garde in medieval literature (Nottingham, Alnwick and Bamburgh), noting that Bamburgh and Nottingham are associated with the fictional castle from an early period. Space is given to Hardyng's account of the castle's foundation in the reign of Ebrauke and his brief alignment of the castle with the story of the Maid of Escalot and her enchanted boat.

Hardyng and Malory

Hardyng's influence on Malory's *Morte Darthur* has been of persistent interest to scholars. Building on earlier work, Kennedy 1981 gives serious consideration to Malory's use of English sources, arguing for their importance and influence on Malory's conceptualisation of Arthur's reign. Witherington 1987, Witherington 1988 and Norris 2008 acknowledge Malory's debt to Hardyng for some minor features, but argue that other details attributed to Hardyng, such as Arthur's coronation as emperor, could have derived from other sources in medieval visual and literary cultures. The influence of the chronicle tradition on Malory is examined in Kennedy 1969, Kennedy 2004, and later in Kennedy 2011 and Roland 2012, who make compelling cases for Hardyng's *Chronicle* having had a significant impact on Malory, not just in terms of what Malory incorporated into his narrative, but also his structural and thematic approaches. Whetter 2012 likewise suggests that Hardyng's influence was much broader than hitherto appreciated, outlining evidence that suggests that the layout of some Hardyng manuscripts may have inspired the layout of the Winchester manuscript of the *Morte Darthur*. Radulescu 2003 is less concerned with Hardyng's direct influence on Malory, proposing instead that Hardyng's work exhibits features that would have appealed to the same gentry audience that Malory was attempting to cater for. Readers more broadly interested in Hardyng's account of King Arthur should also consult *Hardyng's Arthurian

Narrative* and *Hardyng and the Holy Grail*. Sir Thomas Malory is covered in a separate *Oxford Bibliographies* article *Sir Thomas Malory [obo-9780195396584-0117]*.

Kennedy, Edward D. "Malory and his English Sources." In *Aspects of Malory*, edited by Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer, 27-55. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981.

An important essay on Malory's English sources, namely *The Alliterative Morte Arthure*, *The Stanzaic Morte Arthur* and John Hardyng's *Chronicle*. Offers points of comparison between the English versions of Arthur's story and those in the French tradition and asks why Malory borrowed from his English sources at crucial moments in his Arthuriad yet attributed his material to his "Frensshe Boke".

Kennedy, Edward D., 'Malory's Use of Hardyng's *Chronicle*', *Notes and Queries* n.s. 16, no. 5 (1969): 167-70.

An early consideration of Hardyng's influence on Malory. Suggests that Hardyng's *Chronicle* inspired Malory's account of Arthur's Roman coronation, the Pentecostal Oath sworn by The Round Table, and the alignment of Arthurian place names with real locations. Concludes that Hardyng also exerted a broader influence on Malory's narrative method and the framework of the *Morte Darthur*. Kennedy 2011 reviews and develops these suggestions.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "Malory's Use of Hardyng's Chronicle: A Reconsideration." *West Virginia Philological Papers* 54 (2011): 8-15.

Argues that Hardyng's chronicle was one of the earliest sources consulted by Malory and that it most likely had "a seminal influence on *Morte Darthur*", not just in terms of providing some of the details shared by both narratives, but also structurally and thematically. Hardyng's idealised Arthur, his blending of chronicle and romance traditions, his secularisation of the grail, and his emphasis on reconciliation, may have provided the inspiration for a "book intended to please Edward IV."

Kennedy, Edward D. "Sir Thomas Malory's (French) Romance and (English) Chronicle." In *Arthurian Studies in Honour of P. J. C. Field*, edited by Bonnie Wheeler, 223-34. *Arthurian Studies* 57. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.

Investigates the influence of English chronicles on Malory and argues that his *Morte Darthur* imitated the English chronicle style to appeal to English readers, despite heavily citing his "Frensshe Book" as a primary source.

Norris, Ralph C. *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur*. *Arthurian Studies* 71. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008.

Analyses Malory's use of earlier Arthurian materials. Argues that Hardyng was an important minor source for the *Morte Darthur*, but that some of the details attributed to Hardyng by previous scholars

could have derived from other texts, including the Vulgate Cycle. Useful for assessing Hardyng's place in the wider Arthurian tradition and providing a different perspective to other scholars arguing for greater influence from Hardyng.

Radulescu, Raluca L. *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. Focuses on fifteenth-century English gentry, exploring how gentry culture, ideologies and political concerns manifested in Malory's *Morte Darthur*. Includes an examination of gentry reading habits, and the ways in which Hardyng's *Chronicle* reflected gentry interests in good governance and counsel.

Roland, Meg. "The Rudderless Boat: Fluid Time and Passionate Geography in (Hardyng's) *Chronicle* and (Malory's) *Romance*." *Arthuriana* 22, no. 4 (2012): 77-93.

Contends that Malory's geographic imagination is strongly indebted to Hardyng's *Chronicle*, particularly with regards to conceptualisation and synthesis of real space with the nebulous "fluid landscape of romance." Maintains that Malory also absorbs two ways of thinking about time from Hardyng's unique combination of trackable chronological time (found in chronicles) and indeterminate romance time.

Whetter, Kevin Sean. "Malory, Hardyng and the Winchester Manuscript: Some Preliminary Conclusions." *Arthuriana* 22, no. 4 (2012): 167-89.

Considers the layout and rubrication of names in London, British Library Additional MS 59678 (the Winchester manuscript of Malory's *Morte Darthur*) and concludes that the features derive from Malory, who was in turn influenced by the rubrications and layout in some of the extant Hardyng manuscripts.

Withrington, John. "The Arthurian Epitaph in Malory's 'Morte Darthur'." *Arthurian Literature* 7 (1987): 103-44.

Considers Malory's reference to Arthur as the once and future king in the context of other references to Arthur's return, including a marginalia in the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. Argues that there was an established tradition of uncertainty about Arthur's death.

Withrington, John. "King Arthur as Emperor." *Notes and Queries* n.s. 35, no. 1 (1988): 13-15.

Looks at instances of King Arthur being crowned emperor of Rome. Concludes that while Malory was indebted to Hardyng for some details, Arthur's coronation as emperor existed in other visual, literary and historical contexts that could have influenced Malory's decision to endow his Arthur with the imperial crown.

Hardyng and the Holy Grail

Hardyng's unprecedented chronicle account of Galahad's grail quest has attracted a fair amount of attention from scholars of Arthurian literature and grail lore. Important studies contextualising Hardyng's place in the development of grail literature, and exploring his connection to Glastonbury Abbey's dissemination of a legend about Joseph of Arimathea bringing a blood relic of Christ to England, can be found in Lagorio 1971 and Simpson and Peverley 2015. Information about the sources and analogues associated with Hardyng's narrative is also synthesised in the latter, while Boardman 2008 surveys Middle English accounts of the grail and Kennedy 2005 offers an important comparison between Robert de Boron's grail narrative and Hardyng's work. Kennedy 1989 was the first to suggest that Hardyng's presentation of the Grail and Joseph of Arimathea's relationship with Glastonbury was offered to counter Scottish claims of being the earliest apostolic nation in the British Isles. Riddy 1991, Riddy 2001 and Riddy 2014 have likewise argued for a more secular, politicised reading of Hardyng's grail and the heraldry bestowed on Galahad. For other scholarship on Hardyng's Arthur see *Hardyng's Arthurian Narrative* and *Hardyng and Malory*.

Boardman, Phillip C. "Grail and Quest in the Medieval English World of Arthur." In *The Grail, the Quest and the World of Arthur*, edited by Norris J. Lacy, 126-40. Arthurian Studies 72. Cambridge D. S. Brewer, 2008.

Surveys Middle English accounts of the grail quest, namely the alliterative *Joseph of Arimathea*, Henry Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*, John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and Malory's *Morte Darthur*. Useful for its synthesis of previous scholarship on the grail and the function of the quest.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "John Hardyng and the Holy Grail." *Arthurian Literature VIII* (1989): 185-206.

Argues that Hardyng introduces Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail quest to counter Scotland's claim to an earlier apostolic history than England and to highlight Arthur's "spiritual authority" in opposition to Scottish claims that he was an illegitimate ruler. Contextualises Hardyng's additions in relation to Anglo-Scottish affairs. Also appears in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, edited by James P. Carley, 249-68. Arthurian Studies 45. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.

Kennedy, Edward Donald. "Visions of History: Robert de Boron and English Arthurian Chroniclers." In *The Fortunes of Arthur*, edited by Norris J. Lacy, 29-46. Cambridge D. S. Brewer, 2005.

Analyses Robert de Boron's account of the Grail and his incorporation of Christian elements into King Arthur's story, then tracks the influence of his work on Hardyng's grail quest via the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian romance.

Lagorio, Valerie M. "The Evolving Legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury." *Speculum* 46 (1971): 209-31.

An important study of the evolution of Joseph of Arimathea's connection with Glastonbury Abbey in England. Includes detailed information about the medieval texts that contained the legend, including Hardyng's work.

Riddy, Felicity. "Chivalric Nationalism and the Holy Grail in John Hardyng's Chronicle." In *The Grail: A Casebook*, edited by Dhira B. Mahoney, 397-414. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Argues that Hardyng's account of the grail and the interlinked history of Saint George's arms are used to consolidate a sense of nationalism among the English during a period of civil war. Hardyng's *Chronicle*, which remembers and celebrates great hero kings like Henry V, underscores the need for solidarity and stability under a chivalric hero.

Riddy, Felicity. "Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*." In *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*. Edited by Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1991: 317-31.

Considers the origins of Hardyng's account of Mewynus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Galahad's shield. Concludes that Hardyng had no interest in the grail as a "eucharistic symbol", but favoured Galahad's shield as a figure that connected chivalric greatness with the figures of Saint George and Henry V. Also in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, edited by James P. Carley, 269-84. Arthurian Studies 45. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.

Riddy, Felicity. "John Hardyng in Search of the Grail." In *Arturus Rex, Columen II: Acta Conventus Lovaniensis 1987*, edited by W. Van Hoecke, Gilbert Tournoy and Werner Verbeke, 419-29. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 1: 17. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991.

Compares Hardyng's grail quest with its source, the Vulgate *Queste del Saint Graal*, and concludes that Hardyng demystifies the grail for political reasons, presenting it as "a heraldic emblem that harks back through history to Joseph of Arimathea, binding together the British past" and people.

Simpson, James and Peverley, Sarah L. "Book 3: Explanatory Notes". In **John Hardyng, Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*. [<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-peverley-hardyng-chronicle>]* Volume 1. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015.

Contains substantial notes on Hardyng's sources and analogues, especially those informing his account of Sir Galahad's grail quest and his inheritance of the red cross heraldry associated with Saint George.

Hardyng's Influence

In addition to influencing Sir Thomas Malory, which is dealt with in a separate section of this bibliography, Hardyng's *Chronicle* was also used by Richard Grafton, John Stow, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare and John Milton. A number of works focused on these authors make brief references to Hardyng, but only a few scholars have given specific attention to the ways in which Hardyng inspired later writers. Edlin 2004 considers Hardyng's contribution to the dissemination of the Crouchback legend in the medieval period. Hiatt 2004 and Peverley 2005 concentrate on the heated criticisms that Stow and Grafton exchanged in print about each other's use of Hardyng (see also Edwards 2019 in *Textual History* for Grafton's use of the *Chronicle*). Harper 1910 is the only thorough study of Spenser's chronicle sources. Shakespeare's knowledge of Hardyng's history is discussed by West 1990 and Peverley 2016, while Kelly 1970 explores the different ways in which medieval chronicles impacted on Shakespeare's presentation of fifteenth-century history.

Edlin, T. P. J. "The Crouchback Legend Revisited." *The Ricardian* 14 (2004): 95-105.

Considers how the legend of Edmund Crouchback was employed to bolster Henry IV's claim to the English throne. Tracks the importance of Hardyng's *Chronicle* and other works in circulating the story that Edmund was the elder brother of Edward I, rather than the younger.

Harper, Carrie A. *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910.

An old, but definitive account of Spenser's chronicle sources. Tracks Spenser's debts to Geoffrey of Monmouth, John Hardyng, John Stow and Raphael Holinshed. Records instances of a "strong resemblance" in phrasing between Hardyng's work and parts of *The Faerie Queene*.

Hiatt, Alfred. "Stow, Grafton, and Fifteenth-Century Historiography." In *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past*, edited by I. Gadd and A. Gillespie, 45-55. London, 2004.

Looks at the dispute between John Stow and Richard Grafton, both of whom used different versions of Hardyng's work as a source for their own historical publications and attacked each other in print for lying about the content of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. In fact, both printers were working from different versions of the text.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories*. London, 1970.

Considers the influence of fifteenth-century chronicles on Shakespeare's histories through the lens of divine providence. Includes discussion of Hardyng's presentation of history, looking at the thematic and broader ideological factors at work within his text. Useful for providing context to Hardyng's writing and legacy.

Peverley, Sarah L. "'A Good Exampell to Avoide Diane': Reader Responses to John Hardyng's *Chronicle* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Poetica* 63 (2005): 19-35.

Considers, like Hiatt 2004, the literary quarrel between John Stow and Richard Grafton, who attacked each other in the prefaces to their histories over their respective uses of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. Also covers later reader responses to Hardyng's work, as evidenced by extant annotations in the manuscripts of the two versions of the text.

Peverley, Sarah L. *'"John Hardyng's *Chronicle*.'" [<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03rrt9g>]* BBC Radio 3, *Freethinking*. 21 April 2016.

A short interview about Hardyng's influence on Shakespeare's history plays. Focuses on the transmission of ideas from Hardyng, through other histories, like Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and suggests that Shakespeare knew Hardyng from a manuscript of the *Chronicle* once in possession of the Stanley family.

West, Gilian. "Hardyng's *Chronicle* and Shakespeare's Hotspur." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40 (1990): 348-51.

Looks at the ways in which Hardyng's account of early fifteenth-century affairs influenced Shakespeare's portrayal of Sir Henry "Hotspur" Percy (d. 1403) and the politics surrounding Henry IV's seizure of the English throne.